AN

ESSAY

Towards Comparing

Pere DANIEL's

Hiſtory of FRANCE,

With ſome of the RULES laid down by the Antients for the Writing of HISTORY; ſhewing its Excellency above any other.

Nec minus gratiæ præcipiendo recta, quam offenſæ reprehendo prava mereamur. QUINT.

LONDON:
Printed and ſold by J. ROBERTS near the *Oxford Arms* in *Warwick-lane.* 1729.

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Pere DANIEL's

History of FRANCE,

With some of the RULES laid down by the Authors for the Writing of HISTORY; shewing his Excellency above any other.

Et primus gratia praeeundo recta, quam effugit reprehendo, prava mercantur. QUINT.

LONDON:

Printed and sold by J. ROBERTS near the Oxford Arms in Warwick Lane, 1719.

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ESSAY

Towards Comparing

Pere DANIEL's

Hiſtory of FRANCE,

With ſome of the *Rules*, laid down by the *Ancients*, for the Writing of *Hiſtory*.

HISTORY is the *Theatre* on which mens actions, good or bad, are repreſented, and where ſentence is pronounced upon all with impartiality, in order, either to recommend virtue to *poſterity*, or deter them from treading in the footſteps of unjuſtifiable *examples*. All *countries* may reap the benefit of its leſſons, and all *ages* walk by its light. An art ſo univerſally uſeful, can never be ſufficiently cultivated, nor can *Hiſtorians* be too nice or exact in the choice of the *rules*, by which they propoſe to execute their deſigns.

Herodotus, who is called the *father* of *Hiſtory*, wrote about ſix hundred years, after *Cadmus* brought *letters* into *Greece*, that is, four hundred and fourty four years before our *Saviour*, according to Sir *Iſaac Newton*: next to him,

Thucydides is reported to have compoſed his, when he was baniſhed *Athens*: and *Philiſtus* of *Syracuſe*, the favourite of *Dionyſius* the Tyrant, imitated *Thucydides*. *Theopompus* and *Ephorus* were the next that undertook to write *Hiſtory*, at the deſire of their maſter *Iſocrates*. Then *Xenophon*, *Caliſthenes*, (who accompany'd *Alexander*) and *Timæus*, are the chief ancient *Greek Hiſtorians* mentioned by *Tully*. Theſe were confeſſedly ſuperior to any that had appeared in the *Roman* commonwealth, in, or before, his time; becauſe the old *Romans* thought, that there was no other ingredient requiſite to the compoſition of *Hiſtory*, but *to write what was truth*. (*a*)

During its infancy at *Rome*, the principal tranſactions of every year, were drawn up by the *Pontifex Maximus*, without circumſtance or embelliſhment, and kept by him, to give ſatisfaction to any one that had a mind to conſult them: theſe were called the *Great Annals*, and were continued to the time of *P. Mucius*. *Cato*, *Pictor*, and *Piſo*, copy'd after this original, aiming at nothing but meer *Narration*, without ornament (for at that time, *Greek Hiſtory* and *Oratory* had not been ſtudy'd at *Rome*) and thought they ſucceeded wonderfully well, *if they were but brief and intelligible* (*b*). But *Rome* gave a full proof of her abilities not long after, in her *Salluſt*, *Cæſar*, *Livy*, and *Tacitus*. *Quintilian*, has not only compared *Herodotus* and *Thu-*

(*a*) Noſtri, nihil opus eſſe oratore: ſatis eſt non eſſe mendacem. *Tull. de Orat.*

(*b*) Illis noſter Cato, & Pictor, & Piſo; qui neque tenent quibus rebus ornatur oratio (modo enim huc iſta ſunt importuta) &, dum intelligatur quid dicant, unam dicendi laudem putant eſſe brevitatem. *Id. ibid.*

cydides,

cydides, but equalled *Salluſt* to *Thucydides*, and *Livy* to *Herodotus*, *in the beauty and elegance of Narration, the eloquence and ſuitableneſs of the ſpeeches to the ſpeakers, and chiefly in touching the ſofter paſſions, with ſuch ſkill, that he has not been exceeded (c)*. I mention theſe great *Names*, for the ſake of recollecting the birth and progreſs of profane *Hiſtory*, the noble *examples*, and excellent *rules* they have left us, for continuing it.

Reaſon, or Natural *Religion*, furniſh us with ideas of *good* and *evil*, which are reduced to *method*, and enlarged in the *Schools*; and there is hardly any *action* or *event*, from which the meaneſt capacity does not conclude on what it would do, in a parallel caſe. The lower that *capacity* is, the greater advantage it may reap from the reading of *Hiſtory*, whoſe buſineſs it is to *do all the good that may be, at leaſt to avoid doing hurt (d)*; and to form a right judgment of the *tranſactions* and *characters* it treats of, and conſequently to preſent us with ſound *Morals* and *Politicks*.

The world is generally perſwaded that *Homer's Moral* is *good*, that his *Characters* were deſign'd to recommend ſome particular *virtue*, or implant the abhorrence of ſome particular *vice*, and therefore his *Poem* is approved off; yet *he* only paints men as they *ſhould be*, and *Hiſtory*

(c) At hiſtoria non ceſſerit Græcis, nec opponere Thucydidi Salluſtium verear: nec indignetur ſibi Herodotus æquari T. Livium, cum in narrando miræ jucunditatis, clariſſimique candoris, tum in concionibus, ſupra quam enarrari poteſt, eloquentem: ita dicuntur omnia, cum rebus, tum perſonis accommodata: ſed affectus quidem, præcipue eos, qui ſunt dulciores, ut parciſſime dicam, nemo hiſtoricorum commendavit magis. *Quint. Inſtit. Orat.*

(d) Omnis cura mea ſolet in hoc verſari ſemper (dicam enim ſæpius) ſi poſſim, ut boni aliquid efficiam dicendo, ſin id minus, ut certe ne quid mali. *Tull. de Orat.*

deſcribes them as they are in *reality*. For this reaſon, it is proportionably, if not preferably, uſeful in all manner of compoſitions, as the *Examples* brought from thence, are not chargeable with the *imputation of prepoſſeſſion*, without they undergo the torture of *innuendo* and *application*. *(e)*

The reaſon why pere *Daniel's* Hiſtory is pitched upon to be examined, is becauſe *He* is almoſt univerſally better eſteemed than any other *modern*, for conveying juſt and clear ideas of his *Subject* to his readers, for delivering his opinion freely concerning *bad Kings* and *corrupt Miniſters*, for *Morals* and *Politicks* leſs blameable than any other Author of his *Nation* or *Order*, and the evident connection there appears to be, between the *Cauſes* and the *Events* which he aſcribes to them. *Here*, we ſhall find many *great virtues* aſcribed to many *Names* great in *Hiſtory*, from whence we may fairly conclude, that *Virtue* reduced to practice, is not ſo hard a leſſon as it has been ſometimes repreſented. *Here* likewiſe, we may find many inſtances of *virtue* triumphing over *vice*, ſo that it is often recompenſed even in this life; and (as it happened in the caſe of the famous *League*) that one of the moſt *palpable unhappineſſes* that can befal a ſingle *man*, or *Society*, is, the *permiſſion of an uninterrupted ſucceſs*.

An *Hiſtorian* ſhould have a taſte of all the *accompliſhments* he writes of, a greatneſs of *mind*

(e) Eſt & alius ex hiſtoriis uſus, & is quidem maximus, ex cognitione rerum exemplorumque, quibus in primis inſtructus eſſe debet orator, ne omnia teſtimonia expetat a litigatore: ſed pleraque ex vetuſtate diligenter ſibi cognita ſumat: hoc potentiora, quod ea ſola criminibus odii & gratiæ vacant. *Quint. Inſtit. Orat.*

to

to repreſent *things* as they are, *courage* and *diſcernment* enough to unmaſk *vice* and *corruption*, a ſteddy *reſolution* to prefer the *ſolid* to the *ſuperficial*, and an inflexible *Impartiality* throughout. ‘ Pere *Daniel* ſeems to have had ‘ theſe ſentiments mainly in view, when he re- ‘ lates, how *Henry* I. ſent a challenge to the ‘ Emperor *Henry* III. like that which *Francis* I. ‘ ſent to *Charles* V. for he remarks, that ‘ the two *Emperors* ſhew'd each of them as ‘ much *wiſdom*, as the two *Kings* of *France* ‘ did *courage*.’ And he gives us a tolerable inſtance of his *impartiality*, diſcourſing of the differences that fell out between *Philip Auguſtus* and our King *Richard*, in *Paleſtine*: there cannot, *ſays he*, be more contradiction than there is between the *Engliſh* and *French Hiſtorians*, with regard to the behaviour of theſe two *Princes* to one another. ‘ According to ‘ the *Engliſh*, *Philip* was always in the *wrong*. ‘ According to the *French*, *Richard* was the cauſe ‘ of all the *confuſion*: from whence we may ‘ eaſily ſee, that neither of them were *equitable*. ‘ Beſides this, we may reckon upon the ho- ‘ nourable *characters* that he gives us of the ‘ *Queen* of *Navarre* and the *Admiral* of *France*; ‘ the mean *artifices* and wicked *diſſimulation* em- ‘ ploy'd by the *Queen-Mother* and *Charles* IX. ‘ to draw the *Heads* of the *Hugonots* to *Paris*, ‘ and compaſs that execrable *maſſacre*; the ‘ bloody orders that were ſent to the *Catho-* ‘ *licks* all over the kingdom, to fall on the ‘ *Hugonots*; which he calls, a *butchery blam'd* ‘ *and deteſted by the whole world*. Much to the ‘ ſame purpoſe, is, the *honeſt confeſſion* he ‘ makes of the ſtrange conduct of *Pope* ‘ *Sixtus* V. when occaſionally mentioning his

'death, *he tells us*, how unlucky it prov'd 'for *Henry* IV. as the *Pope* had always con-'demn'd the *League* in his own judgment, for 'a *vile combination*, and which he only ſupport-'ed during his *Popedom*, as an evil that was '*neceſſary* for the preſervation of the *Catholick* 'Religion. To the ſame ſpirit of *impartiality*, 'we muſt attribute the *character* of the brave '*de la Noüe*, who, tho' an *Hugonot*, was eſteem'd 'even by his enemies, one of the *beſt ſoldiers*, 'and *honeſteſt men* in the kingdom.'

No one indeed but a *good* man with a ſound *judgment* can be a good *Hiſtorian*, becauſe a religious regard for *truth* ſhould preſide over all his *thoughts* and *expreſſions*, and the *conſcience* of his duty to mankind, whom he is to inſtruct, ſhould weigh with him beyond *gain* or *prejudice*; otherwiſe his great *abilities* are great *vices*, and while they are in his poſſeſſion, *little better than a ſword in a madman's hand.* (*f*)

Integrity, has ſomething ſo taking in it, that we are apt to believe the *profeſſion* tho' we ſuſpect the *man*, and know that the leaſt *deviation*, is a proportionable advance to *Libel* or *Panegyrick*. 'How beautiful is *Tacitus*'s 'preface to his hiſtory, wherein he confeſſes 'honeſtly that *liberty*, *eloquence*, and the love 'of *truth*, which had all expir'd at *Actium*, were 'unhappily ſucceeded by *flattery* and *detracti-'on:* that *poſterity* ſuffer'd by the *paſſion* of 'the oppreſs'd, and the *violence* of the op-'preſſors: that neither *Galba*, *Otho*, or *Vitel-*

(*f*) Quo major eſt vis, hoc eſt magis probitate jungenda, ſummaque prudentia: quarum virtutum expertibus ſi dicendi copiam tradiderimus, non eos quidem oratores effecerimus, ſed furentibus quædam arma dederimus. *Tull. de Orat.*

'lius

'*lius* had done *him* good or hurt; that *he* had 'indeed receiv'd conſiderable favours from '*Veſpaſian* and his two *ſons*, but *he* propos'd 'to ſpeak of them with the ſame *impartiality*, 'that a *man of honour* would. As for the 'glorious reigns of *Narva* and *Trajan* (which '*he* reſerv'd for the exerciſe of his old age) '*he* was under no concern about them, be-'cauſe a man might at that time, *think as he* '*pleas'd*, and *write what he thought*.'

The *Vulgar* are eaſily taken with *fiction*, and *men of ſenſe* only with *truth*, which is in almoſt every *Author*'s power to write, but in few of *their* inclinations; becauſe the greateſt part of them are *penſioners*, and under the influence of *hopes* and *fears*. '*Eginard*, *Charlemagne*'s '*Secretary*, and on the footing of a *Court pen-'ſioner*, tells us, that when his maſter came to '*Church*, he knew nothing of the *Pope*'s de-'ſigning to crown him *Emperor* of the *Romans*, 'nor would he have come if he had known 'it; yet he receiv'd the *Purple* and return-'ed with it to his own *Palace*: but *Pere* '*Daniel* thinks, he lov'd glory, and was very 'politick; and, that if the titles of *Emperor* 'and *Auguſtus* were given him *againſt his will*, 'he appear'd afterwards to retain them with '*great ſatisfaction*.'

Some write to *flatter*, and ſome to *expoſe* the conduct of a governing party, relying on the readineſs of the generality of mankind, to embrace envy and obloquy with open arms: but both are *unjuſtifyable ends*, and *Poſterity* is ſtrangely miſled between them; for *flattery* ſmells rank of *ſervitude*, and *meer ſlander* and *contradiction*, wear only the *maſk* of *liberty*.

He

He would prove a well *qualify'd* perſon for an *Hiſtorian*, who has been long converſant in buſineſs, who has ſtudy'd the world and human nature, who is furniſh'd with the beſt materials that can be procur'd, who is *independent*, and reſolved to write nothing but *truth*, whomſoever it may diſpleaſe. 'He ſhould indeed, if poſ-'ſible, write up to the *character* that the *duke* 'of *Nevers* acted (who dyed, as 'tis reported, 'of a paſſionate reply made to him by '*Henry* IV.) diſtinguiſhed for a man of ſtrict '*honour* and *virtue*, even where his *intereſt* 'and *integrity* ſtood in competition.' He will find it no eaſy matter to unmaſk *diſſimulation*, with which mankind is more or leſs tinctured, as well as to diſcover the predominant *paſſions* of the principal *actors*, which are commonly concealed, in proportion to their unjuſtifiableneſs: as, when *ſacrilege* uſurps the name of *devotion*, and the *traitor* ſkulks behind the *Patriot*. 'So, *Pere Daniel ſays*, that the *Abbot* '*Vala*'s fantaſtical zeal, ſuffered him to take 'up *arms* againſt *Lewis* I. for the *ſafety of* '*his perſon*, and yet he never paſt for a greater '*Saint* than when he did it.'

He muſt likewiſe expect to find his *materials* ſeaſoned with *Romance* and *Reſentment*, and to be without any guide in ſome *Inſtances*, except his own *judgment*. 'Such is the ſtory of 'pope *Leo*, who was carried off during a *Pro-'ceſſion* on St. *Mark*'s day, and had both his 'eyes and tongue pulled out by his prede-'ceſſor's nephews, tho' 'tis certain that he 'had the uſe of both ſenſes afterwards. And, 'ſuch another is that, of the *King* of *Perſia*'s 'ſending ambaſſadors to *Charlemagne* with the 'keys of *Jeruſalem*, and the compliment of the

'the *Holy-Land*; with which, *Father Daniel* 'ſays, the world have pleaſed themſelves in 'adorning the life of a *Prince*, of whom it 'was believed, *nothing could ever be thought* 'or *ſaid too great.*' They that attempt to write of paſt *ages*, riſque conſiderably under theſe diſadvantages; but they that write the *Hiſtory* of their own *times*, run greater hazard; conſidering how apt mankind is to *tranſgreſs*, how impatient of *cenſure*, and how ſweet the *morſel* of *revenge*.

When I ſay, *Hiſtory* is *uſeful* in regard to *Politicks*, it is meant, that by it we come to the knowledge of what may *hurt*, or contribute to the *good* of *Society* in general; or, how *liberty* may be *loſt*, or *preſerved*. True *Policy* conſiſts, in the *uniform practice of moral virtue*, and a departure from this *rule*, proves more or leſs noxious to *governments* of all *forms* whatſoever. It brought the *Republick* of *Rome* to that paſs, that nothing could have ſaved it at laſt from *Anarchy*, but a ſeaſonable change of the form of *government*; and after all, it ruined the *Empire* (*g*). This remark is as ancient as *Livy*, who recommends it to his *Readers*, to obſerve the lives and manners of the ancient *Romans*, the *methods* that they took to acquire that vaſt *Empire*, which, as ſoon as a *relaxation* of *diſcipline* and *morals* had prevailed, could neither ſubſiſt under the *diſtemper*,

(*g*) Ad illa mihi pro ſe quiſque acriter intendat animum, quæ vita, qui mores fuerint: per quos viros, quibus artibus, domi militiæque, partum & auctum imperium ſit, labente paululum diſciplina, velut deſidentes primo mores ſequatur animo: deinde ut magis magiſque lapſi ſint, tum ire ceperint præcipites; donec ad hæc tempora, quibus nec vitia noſtra nec remedia pati poſſumus, perventum eſt. *Tit. Liv.*

nor

nor ſuffer the *remedy*. The ancient *Romans* were *induſtrious*, upright in the adminiſtration of *publick offices*, delivered their ſentiments with a *freedom* peculiar to themſelves, and were equally unbiaſſed to all *oblique* views: but conſiderable advances were made in *luxury* and *avarice* in *Salluſt*'s days, and *private* men had inriched themſelves by impoveriſhing the *publick* (*h*). The *Senators* conſulted only their own *intereſts* in the meaſures propoſed to preſerve the *Republick*, rioted at home, and *ſold* their *votes*, or liſted themſelves blindly in a *Party* (*i*). So univerſal was the *corruption*, that *Tully* having occaſion to ſpeak of the ſame times, wiſhes the *Gracchi* reſtored to life and authority, foreſeeing the ſtorm that threatned the *Republick*, from the *ſchemes* that were carrying on, the *extravagance* of his fellow-citizens, and the danger of *Poſterity*'s improving on the model (*k*). Theſe *great men* were all *Romans*, but they were not all *Republicans*, nor were the *Republicans* of the ſame party, while it ſubſiſted; yet they agree in the main. I ſhall produce only two inſtances out of *Pere Daniel*, one of which, relates to a *Kingdom* loſt by *oppreſſion*; and the other, to

(*h*) Alia fuere, quæ illos magnos fecere, quæ nobis nulla ſunt: domi induſtria, foris juſtum imperium; animus in conſulendo liber, neque delicto, neque lubidini obnoxius. Pro his, nos habemus luxuriam, atque avaritiam; publice egeſtatem, privatim oppolentiam. *Salluſt.*

(*i*) Neque mirum; ubi vos ſeparatim ſibi quiſque conſilium capitis, ubi domi voluptatibus, hic pecuniæ, aut gratiæ ſervitis, eo fit, ut impetus fiat in vacuam rempublicam. *Cato in Salluſt.*

(*k*) Ea tela texitur, & ea incitatur in civitate ratio vivendi, ac poſteritati oſtenditur, ut eorum civium, quos noſtri patres non tulerunt, jam ſimiles habere cupiamus. *Tull. de Orat.*

a *State*

a *State* preſerved from a general revolt, by a ſeaſonable return to *virtue*. ‘ *Peter* of *Caſtile*, ‘ ſirnamed the *Cruel*, had proved a *Tyrant* at ‘ home, as well as troubleſome to his neigh- ‘ bours. *Charles* V. aſſiſted his oppreſſed ſub- ‘ jects, and *Peter* reſolved to defend himſelf, ‘ but he ſoon perceived of what importance ‘ it is to a *Sovereign*, not to draw the aver- ‘ ſion of his ſubjects upon him, by ill uſage. ‘ Such junctures happen, in which *fear* no ‘ longer takes place, and nothing but affection ‘ for the perſon of the *Prince* is the motive ‘ upon which they act. *Peter* was forced to fly ‘ for his life, and it was long e'er his king- ‘ dom enjoyed its wonted tranquillity. The ‘ laſt, is related of the duke of *Brittany*, who ‘ had made the *Conſtable* of *France* priſoner ‘ in the time of *Charles* VI. and then or- ‘ dered him to be murdered by one of his ‘ officers. The *Officer* remonſtrated againſt ‘ this ſtrange reſolution of his *Maſter*, but all ‘ to no purpoſe. The *Duke* repented upon re- ‘ flecting ſeriouſly on the conſequences of ſo ‘ horrid a piece of cruelty, and countermand- ‘ ed the execution, when he was afraid it ‘ was too late. The *Officer* being called, and ‘ aſked what was become of the *Conſtable*, con- ‘ feſſed that he had expected his orders would ‘ be countermanded, and that the *Conſtable* was ‘ ſtill alive: on which this *reflection* follows. ‘ A memorable inſtance, which may equally ‘ ſerve to inſtruct *great Men* and their *depen-* ‘ *dents*, that the *former* may not too eaſily ‘ give way to the bent of their *paſſions*, nor ‘ the *latter* too blindly execute their com- ‘ mands; for under ſuch circumſtances, the

‘ beſt

' beſt ſervice they can do their *Maſter*, is to ' diſobey him.'

Hiſtory may be render'd as *uſeful* to private men as *Princes*, and to *families* as *commonwealths*; for *Societies* are compoſed of individuals, who are all acted by the like *paſſions*, which in their operations produce *univocal* effects in *high* and *low* life. For this reaſon, *Pere Daniel*, talking of the differences between *Philip* VI. and *Edward* III. of *England*, ſays, ' That perſons always ſucceed when they know ' how to intereſt in their cauſe, the *paſſions* ' of thoſe that they treat with.' And the world is not only convinced as to the *paſſions*, but generally too, as to many other *cauſes* and *effects*, for *facts* have been long looked upon as ſo many *experiments* vouched by the voice of *reaſon* (*l*). If oppreſſion, rapine, avarice, breach of faith, perverting of juſtice, and want of ſincerity, produce *revolutions* in *States*, it may be concluded, they will co-operate ſo much the more ſtrongly in a *private fortune*. No body can read of the enormous diſorders committed in the royal family of *Charles* VI. by the *Duke* of *Burgundy*, but muſt conclude according to the foregoing *rule*: ' for, it is his *character*, ' to have been a *Prince* violent to exceſs, cruel ' and ambitious, animated with the ſame jea- ' louſy with his *Father* againſt the *Duke* of *Or-* ' *leans*, and incapable to govern his reſent- ' ments. Thus likewiſe we ſee that the *Dukes* ' of *Burgundy* and *Anjou*, who drew continual- ' ly different ways in the council of *Charles* VI.

(*l*) Uſum exemplorum nullæ materiæ magis convenire merito fere omnes conſentiunt, cum plerumque videantur reſpondere futura præteritis, habeaturque experimentum velut quoddam rationis teſtimonium. *Quint.*

' brought

' brought both their families and the kingdom ' to the brink of deſtruction.' Were we as ready to obſerve, as the *examples* deſign'd for our inſtruction are frequent, it muſt be owned that *Hiſtory*, by expoſing our advantage to ſo clear a point of view, lends the greateſt helps towards becoming at once, good ſubjects and deſirable neighbours. (*m*)

Hiſtory ſhould only conſiſt of ſuch *materials* as are *great*, and worthy to be deliver'd down to *Poſterity*, for their *inſtruction* and *improvement* (*n*). As *trifles* therefore have no title to ſtand upon record, ſo neither has *falſhood*; for, beſides the impoſition in tranſmitting *probability* and conjecture for *certainty*, or what we know to be *falſe* in lieu of *truth*, it defeats the chief purpoſe of *Hiſtory*, which is, neither to *advance* the one, nor *conceal* the other (*o*). *Pere Daniel* ſeems to have had this *Rule* at heart, when in his preface to the great difference that happened between *Philip* the fair and pope *Boniface* VIII. he declares himſelf in the following manner: ' If ever there was a point ' of hiſtory, in which it was difficult to diſtinguiſh *truth*, from what the *Hiſtorians* of the ' two intereſſed parties wrote out of *paſſion*, ' it is this. For fear therefore of being miſtaken *my ſelf*, I ſhall do nothing but give

(*m*) Hoc illud eſt præcipue in cognitione rerum ſalubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in illuſtri poſita monumento intueri: inde tibi, tuæque reipublicæ quod imitere, capias: inde fœdum incœptu, fœdum exitu, quod vites. *Tit. Liv.*

(*n*) In rebus magnis, memoriaque dignis hiſtoria verſatur. *Cic.*

(*o*) Nam quis neſcit, primam eſſe hiſtoriæ legem, nequid falſi dicere audeat? deinde, nequid veri non audeat? *Id. de Orat.*

' a plain

'a plain relation of certain *facts*, without 'making any *reflections* on them, or concern-'ing myſelf too much with *conjecture*.

If one ſhould undertake to write of paſt *tranſactions*, it will be neceſſary to ſearch diligently to the *fountain head*, and not pin one's *faith* too credulouſly on every intermediate *Author*. *Pere Daniel* is plainly of this opinion, where he gives us the *character* of the *Cardinal* of *Lorain*, who died in the beginning of *Henry* the III's reign, for he ſeems neither to confide entirely in either *Catholick* or *Hugonot* writers that went before him. 'The *Hugonots*, 'ſays he, abuſed him in all places by their 'calumnies, by continual invectives, and de-'famatory libels, which they publiſhed againſt 'him; which, the fury and paſſion that ap-'peared in them, were ſufficient to diſcredit: 'on the other hand, to make a *Saint* of him, 'as ſome *Catholick* authors have done, is puſh-'ing the matter of his commendation too far.

But if an *Author* chuſes to write of his own times, he will do well to avoid either *copying* or *believing reports* or *materials*, deſervedly ſuſpected of being prejudiced by *intereſt* and *partiality*. I mention *copying*, becauſe *Hiſtorians* frequently publiſh all for *fact* they can rake together on a controverted head, under pretence of repreſenting *fairly* what has been tranſacted on either ſide, without acquainting the *reader*, that ſuch and ſuch *materials* have been ſuſpected of *partiality*. Our *Author* is ſo far from taking things upon truſt, or being biaſſed by a national *hypotheſis*, that he maintains, contrary to the opinions of all the *French Hiſtorians*, 'That *Clovis* founded the *French Em-'pire* on the ſouth ſide of the *Rhine*, and that

'all

'all his predeceſſors had been continually driven 'from *Gaul* by the *Romans*.' Another point which he cannot take for granted, as the reſt of them have done, is the depoſition of King *Childeric*, father of *Clovis*, and the election of Count *Giles*, General of the *Roman* army. 'The firſt he 'proves from the ſilence of contemporary au-'thors; from diverſe teſtimonies of ſome au-'thors, who manifeſtly ſuppoſe the contrary of 'that which is now become inſenſibly the receiv-'ed opinion, and from the characters of thoſe 'writers who in the following ages publiſh'd 'a fact unheard of before them: and the ſe-'cond point he proves to be a meer fable, ſo 'that he ſtrikes off ſixty nine years from the '*French* monarchy:' a very bold and unpopular ſtroke, if he had not had the right of his ſide.

In another place he proſecutes the ſame way of thinking, in his character of the Empreſs *Judith*, for without vouching even in favour of a fine lady, as he might have done with ſeveral authors on his ſide, he tells us, 'That ſhe was 'charged with a great many crimes.' He gives this reaſon indeed; 'The *court* is a place where '*calumny* dares to do every thing, and where '*policy* diſſembles every thing; and this is the 'reaſon that ſo many of its *myſteries* are impe-'netrable.' *Boccalini*'s advice in this point, is, Never to write but what we have *ſeen*, and never to print in our *life-time*. Nothing can come up to an *hiſtory* compiled with a view to this rule, no not if we could recal even the golden age of *Nerva* and *Trajan*, when a man might *think* as he *pleaſed*, and *write* or ſay what he *thought*. (*p*)

(*p*) Rara temporum fœlicitate, ubi ſentire quæ velis, & quæſentias dicere licet. *Tac. Hiſt.*

There are many good *Hiſtorians* in the world, and yet, like fine faces, no two of them reſemble one another exactly; ſome are valuable for a conciſe brevity, that neither admits of doubt or addition; ſome for a ſtile that flows with eaſe and ſweetneſs; ſome for moving the paſſions and commanding attention; ſome for an ingenuous ſimplicity; and others, for what has more warmth and force in it. It is not enough for an *Hiſtorian* to have the reputation of being judiciouſly faultleſs, for the want of virtues is a fault; he that is too dry, is *vicious* as well as he, who is ſo full of ſap as to run continually into *digreſſion:* but of the two, fertility is more pardonable than barrenneſs. That manner of writing, that an author falls naturally into, is the beſt *Stile* he can uſe, if it be *clear* and *ſincere*, for theſe are the two main ends of thinking and ſpeaking, and ſatisfy and convince at once. Hence it is that our author plainly points out the ſource of the *Guiſian League* long before it was actually form'd, by affording us a clear view of the principal actors, and in the moſt candid manner. The occaſion, was the Cardinal of *Lorain*'s death, who had recommended his two nephews the Dukes of *Guiſe* and *Mayenne* to *Henry* III. 'The *King* had aſſured 'him of his regard to them; an aſſurance that 'had little ſincerity in it; for at the bottom, 'he hated the Duke of *Guiſe*; however, his out-'ward conduct was agreeable to his promiſe, 'for a long time: becauſe as affairs then ſtood, 'he had need of the *Duke*, who, on the other 'hand, knew well how to make uſe of this 'favour, forc'd as it was, yet without depend-'ing upon it.' By the ſame management, he convinces us of the factious intrigues of the

League

League and *Council* of *Sixteen*, as well as of the exceeding weakneſs of *Henry* the third's meaſures. ‘ The menaces, *ſays he*, which he made, ‘ without executing, were look'd upon as aſſu‘ rances of impunity for the future: The guilty ‘ being perſwaded, that he forbore to puniſh ‘ them, only becauſe he durſt not do it, be‘ came more daring, and made uſe of this to ‘ ſupport their power with the *populace*, and to ‘ animate them more and more againſt the ‘ *King*.

But, if an author pleaſes to imitate any one celebrated *Ancient*, it ſhould be him only that comes neareſt his own way of thinking, for copying after more than one, might perhaps produce a patch'd or diſcolour'd piece, that would be apt to diſguſt a diſcerning eye (*q*). All imitation of any kind of excellency is beſt accompliſh'd, when it ſeems to *offer* itſelf, not when it looks as if it were *preſs'd* into the ſervice. Neither ſhould an *Author* ſtrain his natural manner, or ſtrive to outdo himſelf; for whatſoever does not flow eaſily, is not clearly expreſs'd in the brain, and therefore cannot be clearly expreſs'd in language; but he had better obſerve the ordinary rule, either to *give over a fruitleſs purſuit*, or wait a *more favourable opportunity* (*r*).

The qualifications that *Cicero* requires in an hiſtorical ſtile, are, a continu'd ſmoothneſs, join'd with a gentle and eaſy fluency, without

(*q*) Ne ſententiæ emineant extra corpus orationis expreſſæ, ſed intexto veſtibus colore niteant. *Petr. Arb.*

(*r*) —— —— —— —— —— Quæ
Deſperat tractata niteſcere poſſe, relinquet. *Hor.*

participating either of the roughneſs or poignancy of the Bar-ſtile. *(s)*

After all, it has been a queſtion, whether the *Serious* and *Severe Stile*, or a gay and *florid* one, was moſt proper for *Hiſtory:* Though 'tis allow'd that *Authors* of both kinds have acquir'd conſiderable reputation. By the *Severe Stile*, is meant, ſound reaſoning form'd on a juſtneſs of thought, that ſcorns to amuſe itſelf like the gay *Stile* with ſparkling conceits, and politeneſs of expreſſion: 'Tis nervous even where it is hard, and the careleſſneſſes charm us in their undreſs; but the *florid*, ſinks naturally into empty *Refinement* and *Effeminacy*. *Novels*, and little ſubjects, may be properly enough trimm'd up with all the aids of paint and dreſs; becauſe, like beauties of an inferiour claſs, they could not allure a reader without them; but *hiſtories* of *Kingdoms* and *Empires* are grave ſubjects, which, like *truth*, make the deepeſt impreſſions when unadorn'd.

This plain method our *Author* purſues without ornament or political diſguiſe, to give us the reaſons, why the *Nuncio* and the *Envoys* of the *Catholick* Princes, ſollicited *Charles* IX. to declare war againſt the *Hugonots*. ‘ The *Pope* ‘ would have had them exterminated for *Here-* ‘ *ticks: Spain* was afraid of their aſſiſting the ‘ *Low Countries*, and therefore would have had ‘ the war re-kindled in *France:* the *Empire* ‘ lookt upon a civil war in *France*, as the beſt ‘ means to recover *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun:* ‘ *Savoy*, for the ſame reaſon, concluded that

(s) Genus orationis fuſum atque tractum, & cum lenitate quadam æquabili profluens, ſine judiciali aſperitate, & ſine ſententiarum forenſium aculeis perſequendum eſt. *Tull. de Orat.*

‘ they

‘ they might recover the places that the *French* ‘ were ſtill in poſſeſſion of in *Piemont:* and the ‘ Cardinal of *Lorain* hop'd to revenge the Duke ‘ of *Guiſe* his brother's death, and ſet his nephew ‘ at the head of the *Catholick Party.*' It is with the ſame downright openneſs, that he convinces us at once of the unaccountable malice of the faction of *Sixteen* at *Paris*, when the party of the *Politicks*, as they were then call'd, were deſirous of treating with *Henry* IV. upon ſuppoſition of his *converſion.* ‘ The *Sixteen* refus'd ‘ abſolutely to acknowledge his *Title*, even un- ‘ der that circumſtance, pretending that the ‘ converſion would never be ſincere, and that ‘ Religion would always be expos'd to evident ‘ danger.

To write *Sublimely*, is not to ſwell in violent ſuperlatives, or expatiate in the declamatory way, but it ſhould be a *ſtile* adapted to the *dignity* of the ſubject, compos'd of words fit to give force to ideas, without ſinking into the *puerile*, or flaſhing in *bombaſt.* It is no uncommon thing with *Hiſtorians* to record the arch or witty ſayings of *Princes* and great men, without any regard to the foreſaid obſervation. Our *Author* ſeems to have been maturely appriſed of it, for when he reports any thing from the mouth of a *Prince*, it always becomes him as ſuch. So, when *Lewis* XII. was ſollicited at his coming to the throne, to remove *Lewis de la Tremoüille*, who had defeated and taken him priſoner at the battle of *St. Aubin*; the *King* reply'd, ‘ that it did not become the *King* of ‘ *France* to revenge the Duke of *Orleans*'s quar- ‘ rels.' He himſelf was the Duke of *Orleans.* Of the ſame kind, is the dying ſpeech of the Chevalier *Bayard* to the Conſtable of *Bourbon*, who

had in diſcontent deſerted *Francis* I. to ſerve the Emperor *Charles* V. ‘ I am not worthy of ‘ your concern, *my Lord*, ſince I die an honeſt ‘ man; but for my own part, I cannot but ‘ pity you, when I ſee you ſerving againſt your ‘ *Prince*, your country, and your oath.

It is not to be imagin'd that there is but one way for an author's expreſſing himſelf *ſublimely*; for as *Hiſtory* is a complication of all ſentiments, actions, and events, that have or may happen in life, his expreſſion ſhould be adequately ſuited, to its ſeveral perſons and parts. *Socrates*, refus'd the defence that *Lyſias* an excellent *Orator* compos'd for him, not becauſe it was *ill done*, but becauſe, he thought, it did not *become him*; he might mean perhaps, to ſacrifice the reputation of a blameleſs life, meerly to ſpend the poor precarious remainder in ſafety and diſhonour.

One language is proper for war, another for peace: One for deliberation, another for action; and different manners are requiſite to deſcribe the ſame *State* in its infancy, youth, and vigour. This, the *Father* takes particular care to obſerve, but I ſhall only give an inſtance or two of the *Infancy*, if I may ſo call it, of the *French* Monarchy; for to purſue the reſt, would require a tranſcript of too large a part of his *Hiſtory*. The character of *Clovis* anſwers exactly to that of the rough and unpoliſh'd age in which he liv'd: ‘ he makes love, is all on fire, with‘ out having ever ſeen *Clotilda*, and threatens ‘ to declare war if he is refus'd.’ *Pere Daniel* obſerves farther, ‘ that as they did not confine ‘ themſelves to ſolemn *Declarations* of War in ‘ thoſe early days, ſo neither were they always ‘ finiſh'd by *formal* Treaties of *Peace*, and that ‘ oftentimes

‘ oftentimes the two *parties*, tir'd out with the ‘ fatigue of it, repos'd themſelves as it were by ‘ concert.’

No man would beſpeak favour, in the ſame ſtrain that he bids defiance; or ſtudy to ſpeak with the ſame accuracy in private diſcourſe, that he would in defending his life; ſo that it may be proper for an *Hiſtorian* to be warm, ſmooth, ſubtile, vehement, rough, polite, ſubmiſſive, bold, remiſs, and grave with his ſubjects by turns (*t*). This method will take with the learned and unlearned, becauſe it ſpeaks in every man's own way of thinking, apply'd to the ſeveral ſtations of life; and it is obſervable, that tho' there be many readers who approve of what is *ill*, there are none that diſapprove of what is *well done*. This is one way of approaching the *loftineſs*, in which *Quintilian* places true Eloquence, and diſtinguiſhing rightly between exuberance and fertility, ſtrength and rage, low and ſublime (*u*); and, in ſhort, it diſcriminates all the *virtues* of writing, from their defects and exceſſes.

He that endeavours to write *ſenſibly*, ſhould never loſe ſight of his ſubject, to amuſe himſelf or his readers, but checque the impertinent ſallies of wit, and reſiſt the innate vanity of his own temper, which will be apt to ſeduce him

(*t*) —— —— —— —— Triſtia mœſtum
Vultum verba decent: iratum plena minarum:
Ludentem, laſciva: ſeverum, ſeria dictu. *Hor.*

(*u*) Sic erunt magna, non nimia: ſublimia, non abrupta: fortia, non temeraria: ſevera, non triſtia: gravia, non tarda; læta, non luxurioſa: jucunda, non diſſoluta: plena, non tumida. *Quint.*

to pleaſe himſelf injudiciouſly (*x*). Where *Deſcriptions* are not neceſſary to illuſtrate ſome part of the *Hiſtory*, they may be left to the reader's imagination; and the *Hiſtorian* has no more to do, but to give a juſt and natural proportion to the image he preſents. 'In *Pere* 'Daniel, we find the deſcription of an inter-'view between the Emperor *Henry* and *Robert* 'king of *France*, upon the *Meuſe*. The *Em-*'peror paſs'd the river and came to the *King*'s 'lodgings; and the next day, the *King*, to ſhew 'him the like degree of confidence, went to 'ſee him in his camp. They treated of ways 'and means to ſtrengthen the peace between 'them, made magnificent preſents to each o-'ther, and reſolv'd that the *Pope* ſhould ſign 'witneſs to certain conteſted articles of right.' This is brief, and ſhews the manner of that age, which was equally frank, and void of the formalities that we ſhould be forc'd to, upon a parallel occaſion. Indeed the *deſcription* of the duel between *Edward* III. and *Ribeaumont* is ſomething too long, but our *Author* makes the *French knight* lay ſo manfully about him, as well as the *King* of *England*, that he would make us believe there was a *neceſſity* for it.

The *Digreſſions* that we find in unexceptionable *Authors* are generally ſhort, and naturally ally'd to the ſtory, or meant to relieve the mind with variety and agreableneſs. So the *Digreſſion* that mentions the Origine of the temporal power of the *Popes*, is ſhort, curious, and naturally ally'd to the ſtory. 'Pepin had been 'ſollicited by *Pope Stephen* to make war on

(*x*) —— —— —— Cum lucus & ara Dianæ,
Et properantis aquæ per amœnos ambitus agros,
Sed nunc non erat his locus. *Hor.*

'*Aſtolphus*,

'*Aſtolphus*, who had taken *Ravenna*, and threat-
'ned *Rome:* Upon this, he paſs'd the *Alps*
'and beſieg'd *Aſtolphus* in *Pavia*, who promis'd
'to reſtore *Ravenna*, and actually put the *Pope*
'in poſſeſſion of *Narni*; but when *Pepin*'s back
'was turn'd, he repented and retracted every
'thing. This forc'd *Pepin* to return to *Italy*,
'and oblige *Aſtolphus* to execute the Treaty of
'*Pavia*, and add *Commachio* to *Faenza* and *Fer-*
'*rara*, given up by that Treaty: The keys of
'all which places, were formally depoſited on
'the tomb of St. *Peter*, to put him, as it were,
'and all his *Succeſſors* in poſſeſſion of them.' A-
nother *digreſſion*, which is indeed pretty long,
is, the relation of the march and ſucceſs of the
firſt *Cruſade*; but this ſeems to be allowable,
becauſe the *Chiefs* were either *French* Subjects or
Vaſſals, and contributed afterwards to the re-
eſtabliſhment of the power and dominion of
France.

Another ingredient in writing *Senſibly*, is, to
do it with an air of *modeſty* and *probability*. Many
things indeed are true, that at firſt ſight do not
appear credible, and there are many falſhoods
that appear more than probable. A *relation*
becomes *probable*, if it does not contradict na-
ture, if the cauſes of things appear, if the action
reſembles the actor, if it is rightly circumſtan-
tiated, if it agrees with the receiv'd opinions of
mankind, and if there be no ſuſpicion of *art*;
for we believe a thing, becauſe we think it true,
not becauſe it is well managed. But this is hard
doctrine to *Authors* that think they have done
nothing, if they have not perſuaded every one
of their great capacity, when in truth, *credibi-*
lity is at an end when *art* appears.

Speeches,

Speeches, are generally diſſus'd in *modern Hiſtory*, either becauſe they are *unnatural*, or look like *digreſſions*; however, the *ſpeeches* that are moſt admir'd, are ſuccinct, natural, probable, and ſuited to the perſons that ſpeak (*y*). The ſpeech of *Montgomery* to his ſoldiers anſwers this deſcription, who ſaid only, 'My boys, we 'muſt periſh; but in the midſt of our enemies: 'come on ſword in hand, we have nothing 'more to do with harquebuſſes.' And then routed the enemy, who were much more numerous than the *Hugonots*. Of the ſame nature is the ſpeech of *Henry* IV. at his riſing from before *Dreux*, which was ſuccour'd by the Duke of *Mayenne*. 'Gentlemen, we muſt raiſe the 'ſiege; but there will be no diſhonour in doing 'it, ſince 'tis for the ſake of a battle.'

It was uſual with the *Ancients* to make their *Generals* talk very rhetorically, and very long, juſt upon the point of an engagement, in the face of brave and ſubtile adverſaries. *Pere Daniel* is ſo far from making long ſpeeches, for *Alaric* and *Clovis*, that he makes them meet and engage, juſt after they had march'd along the ranks to encourage their ſoldiers. '*Clovis* 'indeed, had in a former battle, made a vow to 'the *God* of his Queen, that he would turn '*Chriſtian*, if he obtain'd the victory; but 'that can ſcarce be call'd a ſpeech, if it was 'true.' Great ſoldiers, have doubtleſs prov'd great orators, but it was ſomewhat uncommon for them to be ſo, and therefore ſomething unnatural, to make them harangue *extempore*, either in the field or ſenate, upon the greateſt

(*y*) Si dicentis erunt fortunis abſona dicta,
Romani tollent equites, peditesque cachinnum. *Hor.*

ſubjects,

ſubjects, and even exhauſt them (z). What time the *Ancients* ſpent in *haranguing*, the Moderns often employ in tedious political and moral *reflection*, which ſeems full as improper and unpardonable. The retreat of the Duke of *Parma* from *Caudebec* would have prov'd a field fertile of *Reflection* for ſome Moderns, whereas the *Pere Daniel* only ſays, 'That great commanders find remedies where others are put 'to a ſtand; and their ability ſtands moſt diſtinguiſh'd in ſuch dangerous circumſtances, 'where all means of ſafety ſeem to be deſpair'd 'of.' And, under the reign of *Lewis* XI. diſcourſing occaſionally of the changes in *England* during the conteſts of the houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, he ſums up the facts without any reflection at all. 'We don't meet with ſuch frequent and ſudden *Revolutions* as theſe, ſays 'he, any where but in *England*. *Edward* reigns 'for the ſpace of five or ſix months, is afterwards taken priſoner, then ſet at liberty and 'reſtor'd to the crown, and at length dethron'd, 'forc'd to fly, and be a Refugee at a foreign 'Court.'

Tully condemns the haranguing humour, in *one*, to whom he gives the preference among the *Greek Hiſtorians*, tho' he owns at the ſame time, that he cannot help commending the *Speeches* for their exquiſite beauty, yet would not imitate him, if he were maſter of his abilities. *(a)*

Some *writers* are of opinion, that there is a certain elegance in leaving room to comment

(z) Simpliciora militares decent. *Quint.*

(a) De Thucydide, orationes quas interpoſuit laudare ſoleo; ſed imitari neque poſſim ſi velim, neque velim ſi poſſim. *Tull. de Orat.*

on

on their works; others again, think the performance well finiſh'd when they underſtand themſelves, without any regard for the poor *Reader*. There is indeed a ſtrange ſort of readers, that like ſetting dogs are beſt pleas'd when they are puzzl'd to find out the meaning of ſuch and ſuch a place; but the pleaſure riſes, from their attributing the recompence of their labour, to their own ſagacity and invention, not to the *Author* they have been poring on.

An *Hiſtorian* ſhould never forget, that a man does not always read with the ſame patience and diſcernment; and that if he does not down right nod, his thoughts will ramble in ſpight of himſelf, unleſs the ſenſe of his author ſtrike his mind, almoſt as plainly as the *Sun* does his eyes, tho' he does not look upon it. The chief care then ſhould be, not ſo much to be underſtood, as to put it out of one's power, to miſtake one's meaning: The rather, becauſe to be in any degree unintelligible, is to be in ſome degree at variance with common ſenſe. To write therefore, with *evidence* and *perſpicuity*, an *Hiſtorian* ſhould think clearly, that he may expreſs himſelf plainly; and he ſhould be at the ſame time, a maſter of the *language* he writes in. This clear way of expreſſing one's mind, *Pere Daniel* ſeems to have attain'd in a peculiar manner; for in one period, he diſcloſes the evident ſource, for example, of the Wars that fatigu'd *France*, *England*, and *Scotland*, for ſeveral ages. Speaking of that great *Revolution*, the *Norman* conqueſt, which happen'd in the time of *Philip* I. 'This Conqueſt, *ſays he*, could not be agree-'able to the King of *France*, who was not ſo 'much affected with the honour of having a

'king

'king for his vaſſal, as with the fear of having 'his vaſſal become a king.'

His words ſhould be common, proper, and ſignificant; the periods, neither abrupt, verboſe, nor ambiguous: and he ſhould preſerve the due order of time, perſons, and circumſtances (*b*). So *Pere Daniel* deſcribes the paſſing of the crown of *France*, from the line of *Clovis* to *Pepin*, with all the order and clearneſs imaginable. 'The prime *Miniſters*, *ſays he*, were 'call'd *Mayors* of the *Palace*, who in a ſhort 'time did not leave the *Kings* power enough to 'chooſe a *Miniſter*, or rather a *Maſter*, but 'aim'd at the throne itſelf. There was no 'coming at the *King* but by *bribery*: they ex-'pos'd juſtice and injuſtice equally for reward: 'They burden'd the *people*, us'd the *nobility* 'ill, and the ſmalleſt faults coſt perſons of di-'ſtinction their lives. In vain did the *nobility* 'preſent petitions to the *King*, not to put the 'whole authority in the hands of *one man*; for 'tho' it was an excellent opportunity to deliver 'himſelf from *ſlavery*, he was not capable of 'making uſe of it. *Pepin*, one of the *Mayors* 'of the *Palace*, made his advantage of this in-'dolence, left *Thiarry* nothing but the name of '*King*, and a good table, becoming thereby 'Duke of *Auſtraſia*. His ſon *Charles Martel* 'ſucceeded him, and he left it to his ſon *Pepin*, 'who took the title of *King*, and aſcended the 'throne in the room of the *idol* that poſſeſs'd it.'

When an *Author* takes this rout, he will avoid falling into what's abſurd, harſh, inſipid, or far-fetch'd; the empty affectation of obſolete

(*b*) In ſententia nihil abſurdum, aut alienum, aut ſubinſuſſum; in verbis nihil inquinatum, abjectum, non aptum, durum, longe petitum. *Tull. de opt. gen. Orat.*

words,

words, whatever cauſes doubt or incertainty of the *Intellect*, and copious long-windedneſs. When the words are ſo plac'd in their ſentences, that no roughneſs or vacuity appears, it gives the ſame beauty to a diſcourſe, that the *proper roundings and riſings do to a picture, when there is no ſharpneſs in the bordering lines, nor flatneſs within the body of the figure* (*c*). Nature and neceſſity, ſeem to have pointed out the ſweet and graceful turn of the period, which ſhould be concluded eaſily in one breath, for that pleaſes the ear beſt, which gives no uneaſineſs to the lungs (*d*). So great influence have *numbers* over the mind, that we can hardly prevail upon ourſelves, to find fault with what is round and ſonorous, tho' the ſenſe is lame and faulty. And after all, this *care* muſt be induſtriouſly diſſembled, that no *affectation* may appear, no ſtiffneſs to prejudice the eaſineſs with which the periods ought to flow; for *Authors* may tranſgreſs by too great an affectation of eloquence (*e*).

True *Eloquence*, conſiſts in the ranging the materials in ſuch order, as produces Grace and Perſwaſion. *Grace*, is a certain free *diſpoſition, anſwerable to that unaffected frankneſs of carriage in a living body, which animates beauty where it is, and ſupplies it where it is not.* This definition ſeems to be as applicable to writing as painting, tho' Sir *Henry Wotton* applies it only to the latter.

(*c*) Collocationis eſt componere & ſtruere verba ſic, ut neve aſper eorum concurſus, neve hiulcus ſit, ſed quodammodo coagmentatus & lævis. *Tull. de Orat.*

(*d*) Id enim auribus noſtris gratum eſt inventum, quod hominum lateribus non tolerabile ſolum, ſed etiam facile, eſſe poſſet. *Id. de Orat.*

(*e*) Cura magna ſentiendi & loquendi; ſed diſſimulatio curæ præcipua. *Quint.*

One

One of the greateſt accompliſhments that an *Hiſtorian* can make himſelf maſter of, is to cloath his *art* with *Simplicity*, and an handſome reſemblance of *nature*; becauſe the very ſuſpicion of artifice, tho' it be innocent, is apt to create a diffidence in the reader, and leſſen the credit of the *relation* (*f*). 'Tis for this reaſon in the main, that, under the reign of *Henry* III. mentioning *Machiavel* occaſionally, *Pere Daniel* does not ſeem to reliſh his writings. 'A conſtant and 'profound diſſimulation, *ſays he*, and the 'maxims of bringing about his deſigns by ways 'the moſt remote from them in appearance, 'are the two great principles of *Machiaveliſm*; 'but all depends upon the application, and the 'nature of theſe *means* which *Princes* make uſe 'of to conceal their deſigns.'

Simplicity, conſiſts in expreſſing the thought in plain ſignificant words, without pomp and daubing, or ſinking into a flat, inſipid *ſtile*. It gives ſomething like that inexpreſſible agreableneſs that *Nature* ſtamps on all her works, whoſe graces are the moſt attractive, and at the ſame time, the moſt plain and unaffected. 'Tis hardly in our power to diſbelieve the ſtory of *Charles* the Simple, it is ſo *ingenuouſly* prefac'd. 'Our '*Hiſtorians* have never been leſs exact in the 'detail of great events than in their accounts of 'this reign.' And after naming ſeveral great perſonages, who ſeem to have been the moſt powerful *Lords* of the *Kingdom* at that time, he ſays, '*Robert* in proceſs of time ſignaliz'd 'his ambition, which he kept hid with great 'care, and *Herbert* Count of *Vermendois* his

(*f*) Suſpicionem artificii apud eos, qui res judicent, oratori adverſariam eſſe arbitror: imminuit enim & oratoris auctoritatem, & orationis fidem. *Tull. de Orat.*

'treachery.

'treachery. The firſt, by robbing his *Sovereign* 'of the crown, and the ſecond by betraying 'that *Prince* in the moſt unworthy manner.' Nor can any thing be related with a greater air of *Simplicity*, then the addreſs of *Joinville* to *Margaret*, *Lewis* the ninth's *Queen*, upon the death of the *Queen Mother*. *Joinville* ſeeing her in tears, ſays; '*Madam*, it is true, one ſhould 'never believe a woman's tears; for, your 'mourning is for the woman, whom you hated 'moſt in the world. The *Queen* reply'd, with 'the ſame ſincere ſimplicity, my Lord of *Join-* 'ville, neither is it for her that I weep; but it 'is for the great trouble that the *King* is in, and 'likewiſe for my daughter *Iſabella*, who is un- 'der the care and cuſtody of men.'

He that loads a *narration* with more *ornament* than it ought to wear, turns it into a *Romance*, and ſhews the nakedneſs of his mind, more than his ſkill (*g*). They indeed may be interſpers'd with it, like lights at proper diſtances in a large edifice, to be uſeful without dazzling, and pleaſe without ſatiety. And yet when an *Hiſtorian* has diſpos'd *them* ſo, he runs a ſtrange riſque, becauſe mankind is ſooneſt cloy'd with theſe objects that delight the ſenſes moſt upon their firſt approach, and continue a laſting affection, for theſe that make ſlighter impreſſions. Whether we are to account for it, by the caprice of the mind, or the imperfection of the organ, it ſeems, that high ſeaſon'd pleaſures and averſion, are only parted by coincident lines.

Beſides the fault of exceeding in *dreſs*, ſome *Hiſtorians* are too ſubject to frequent excurſion

(*g*) Non dicere ornatius, quam ſimplex ratio veritatis ferat. *Tull. de Orat.*

into

into *reflection* and *argument*, which are both inconſiſtent with *Simplicity*; for *nature* ceaſes to ſpeak, where the *Author* delivers his mind in mood and figure. This is never *Pere Daniel*'s caſe, for he never argues; but for Reflections, he indeed aims at them, when they are obviouſly *a propos* and inſtructive; for inſtance, ſpeaking of *Lewis* I. 'In revolutions of this 'extraordinary nature, the firſt ſucceſs is never 'laſting. The impetuoſity of the people cools 'ſoon, and they who contribute the moſt to it, 'act upon hope and proſpect. Few obtain 'their wiſhes, becauſe too many have the ſame 'pretenſions; by this means intereſts change, 'from whence proceeds indifference, and after-'wards an averſion for a party which has no 'more baits, and is no longer rated, but by 'the criminal and infamous part of its cha-'racter.'

Narration, which is the ſubſtance of *Hiſtory*, is a faithful relation of paſt tranſactions without ſuperfluity *(b)*. Thus it is that our *Author* accounts ſuccinctly, for the fear in which *France* ſtood of *Spain*, during the civil wars, in the time of *Charles* IX. '*Phillip* II. made no pre-'tenſions to the domains of *France*; on the con-'trary, he furniſh'd the king with ſome forces, 'which were preſent at the battle of *Dreux*, 'and perform'd their duty well; but *Chatonay*, 'his ambaſſador, encourag'd the diviſions pri-'vately, and us'd all his application to foment 'the *Civil War*.'

In order to compleat *Narration*, *truth*, *brevity*, and *perſpicuity* ſhould diffuſe themſelves thro'

(b) Circumciſa expoſitio, quæ ſupervacuis caret. *Quint.*

the maſs, like blood in a human body, as it were, to give life to it, leaſt a reader ſhould either not underſtand, or not believe what he reads. *Pere Daniel*, to render his *Hiſtory* clear and intelligible, begins with a plain and brief account of the *German* nations, about the time of the founding of the *French* monarchy. 'The 'Franks were ſettled in *Germany* between the 'Elbe, the *Rhine*, and the *Necker*; *Gaul* was 'then divided among the *Romans*, *Viſigoths*, 'and *Burgundians*; the *Romans* extended them-'ſelves along the *Rhine*; the *Burgundians* be-'tween the *Saone* and the *Rhone*; and the 'Viſigoths poſſeſs'd the country from the *Loire* 'to the *Alps* and *Pyrenees*: *Syagrius*, who 'commanded for the *Empire* in *Gaul*, de-'pended on the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, 'becauſe the *Barbarians* were maſters of 'Italy: *Anaſtaſius* was Emperor of *Conſtan-'tinople*, and ſought the friendſhip of *Clovis* the 'young king of the *Franks*, who routed *Sya-'grius* at *Soiſſons*, and put an end to the *Roman* 'authority in *Gaul*, about 537 years after its 'conqueſt by *Cæſar*.' For the ſame reaſon, our *Author* deſcribes the different uſages and cuſtoms that were introduc'd in every reign, without entring into long details, or becoming a diſſertator of an *Hiſtorian*. 'So he tells us, that 'Lewis VII. call'd an aſſembly of the *Lords* 'and *Biſhops* to conſult about the ſafety and 'tranquillity of the *State*, which ſeems to have 'been the firſt of that nature that was call'd; 'that *Alberic Clement Marechal*, who dy'd at 'the ſiege of *Ptolemais*, was not what we call 'now a *Marſhal* of *France*, but rather one of 'the chief grooms of the ſtables; and that the '*Conſtables* of *France*, were not at that time *Ge-*

'*neral*

'neral officers.' And to the motives of *truth* and *perſpicuity* alone, we muſt place our *Author*'s candid relation, of the propoſal to put an end to the civil war in the time of *Charles* IX. 'This expedient was a deſign, *ſays he*, of mur-'dering the *Admiral*, as the perſon that was 'the very ſoul and pillar of the *Hugonot* party. 'With this view, the *Parliament* condemn'd him 'to death as a felon, a rebel, and guilty of 'high treaſon. A price was ſet upon his head, 'and fifty five thouſand crowns of gold pro-'mis'd to any perſon that ſhould kill or take 'him; which indeed had like to have coſt him 'his life, for one of his valets *de Chambre* re-'ſolv'd to poiſon him, but was diſcover'd, and 'hang'd.'

A *Narration* will be clear and perſpicuous, if things are related with the ſame circumſtances and order that they were tranſacted, if nothing eſſential is left out, if the moſt ſignificant words and phraſes are us'd, and moſt of the rules of brevity obſerv'd; for it happens frequently, that things are not underſtood, not ſo much for their real obſcurity, as the length of the *Narration (i)*. Theſe ſeveral ſteps, are all purſu'd and unfolded in due time and order, in relating how *Pepin*, the firſt King of the ſecond race, came to the peaceable poſſeſſion of the *French* monarchy, 'by impoſing on the people, daz-'zling their eyes, and actually obtaining their 'votes. The age, was equally addicted to 'perfidy and ſuperſtition, and almoſt as ready 'to do pennance as offend. *Pepin* obſerv'd 'that the *Pope* was ready to be overwhelm'd

(i) Quæ præcepta de brevitate ſunt, hoc quoque in genere ſunt conſervanda: nam ſæpe res parum eſt intellecta longitudine magis, quam obſcuritate narrationis. *Tull. de invent.*

'by the *Lombards*, hated by the *Emperor* of 'Conſtantinople, and had no other reſource but 'France; the opportunity was favourable, and 'therefore he ſent *Boniface* biſhop of *Mayence* 'to *Zachary*, to propoſe the deſign he had of 'declaring himſelf king of *France*. All theſe 'great affairs have always two faces, and the 'Saints take different ſides according to their 'different *lights*. Other *Eccleſiaſticks* were em-'ploy'd beſides *Boniface*, to carry caſes of *Con-'ſcience*, who return'd with the *Pope*'s opinion, 'that in regard to the ſtate of affairs, he who 'poſſeſs'd the *Authority* might join the name of 'King to it. *Pepin* call'd an *aſſembly* at *Soiſ-'ſons*, wherein the *Pope*'s opinion was con-'firm'd, and he was conſecrated by the holy 'biſhop *Boniface*, to render him the more ve-'nerable; but to add ſtill more weight to his 'character, he was re-conſecrated ſome years 'after by *Pope Stephen* III. who conjur'd the 'French lords, in St. *Peter*'s name, to maintain 'the crown in *Pepin*'s family.'

In order to a *Narration*'s being *brief*, it ſhould only begin where there's a neceſſity for beginning, not at the extremeſt point of the ſtory; it ſhould only relate that the fact was ſo and ſo in groſs, where there's no neceſſity for circumſtantiating it; nor ſhould one digreſs or hold forth too long, but endeavour to imply what has not been ſaid, in what has been expreſs'd. Some fall into a long-windedneſs at the ſame time that they ſtudy brevity, by endeavouring to crowd many things into a narrow compaſs, without conſidering that many of them, might have been better omitted; which

will

will conſtantly prove their caſe, that heap up minute circumſtances injudiciouſly (*k*).

Obſcurity, is the natural conſequence of contracting too much, ſo that it ſeems leſs blameable to exceed a ſmall matter, than to be wanting; for ſuperfluities *tire* indeed, but the want of any neceſſary article *confounds*. Beſides, readers, like travellers, prefer what is ſmooth and eaſie of acceſs, to what is ſteep and abrupt.

If the *Paſſions* are expreſs'd by ſuitable figures and language, a reader will find thoſe different emotions imparted to his mind, which will give him an eagerneſs to proceed, and ſupport his warmth with a grateful variety of *images*. It was with this view doubtleſs, that our *Author* endeavours to ſupport the long unſucceſsful march of the *Chriſtian* army thro' *Aſia minor*, under numberleſs difficulties, by the treacheries of the *Greeks* and the continual haraſſing of the *Infidels*, till at laſt three thouſand of them, the only number that kept in a body together, were forc'd to turn *Mahometans*. The very ſame men that told *Lewis* VII. that if he would leave them and embark with his nobility, they would attempt to join him at *Antioch*. 'So true it is, 'that continu'd miſery is more inſupportable 'than death itſelf, and that a courage which is 'proof againſt the greateſt dangers, cannot al-'ways anſwer for its perſeverance under a ſe-'ries of misfortunes.' Of the ſame nature, is the deſcription of the hard conditions granted

(*k*) Multos imitatio brevitatis decipit, ut, cum ſe breves putent eſſe, longiſſimi ſint: cum dent operam, ut res multas breviter dicant, non ut omnino paucas res dicant, & non plures, quam neceſſe ſit. *Tull. de Invent.*

by *Edward* III. to the city of *Calais* when he took it, 'the conſternation they created as ſoon 'as they were known, the generoſity of the ſix 'who devoted themſelves for the ſafety of the 'reſt, the compaſſion which prompted the 'Queen of *England* to beg their lives, and the 'general order given to quit the place.'

But it will be hard for an *Hiſtorian* to raiſe any of the *paſſions* in his readers, unleſs he feels them himſelf when he writes; for as no matter is ſo inflammable as to take fire of itſelf, ſo no *reader* will be affected as the *Author* would have him, without the *paſſion* is wrought up and communicated with all the requiſite ardour. *Tully* confeſſes that this was his own caſe in pleading, and tho' the arts are different, the *rule* ſeems equally applicable to both (*l*).

Nor ſhould many *Incidents* of the ſame kind be crowded together, for fear they ſhould either overpower the reader by their weight, or lull him into remiſſneſs; becauſe, great tranſactions are apt to depreſs, and little ones following on the heels of one another, commonly produce languidneſs and inattention. The beginning of the reign of *Charlemagne* ſeems to be over loaded with action, for he is continually poſting with his *Armys* from one ſide of *Europe* to another, or taking towns, fighting battles, ſubduing kingdoms, and ſhedding more blood than his whole empire could afford: But this, perhaps, might be owing to the writers of that age, who were generally *Monks*, and mightily devoted to the *Merveilleux*.

(*l*) Non mehercule unquam apud judices, aut dolorem, aut miſericordiam, aut invidiam, aut odium excitare dicendo volui; quin ipſe in commovendis judicibus, iis ipſis ſenſibus, ad quos illos adducere vellem, permoverer. *Tull. de Orat.*

Hence

Hence the ſevere, the grave, and the agreeable *paſſions* ſhould be alternately interſpers'd, and our fears be allay'd by ſucceeding hopes.

To compleat the beauty of *Narration*, it will be neceſſary to dwell only on what is material, to glide ſmoothly from one part of the *hiſtory* to another without breaking the thread of it, and to know when 'tis time to leave off; becauſe, tho' few *readers* perceive what is judiciouſly ſuppreſs'd, they are generally well enough qualify'd to find out vices of exceſs. Our *Author* ſeems to have had a particular eye to one part of this rule, in his preamble of the *Narration* of what is commonly call'd, the *Northern hereſy*; which he ſcarce mentions, till the reign of *Francis* II. in the following manner. 'I ſhall 'give an account of ſome incidents which hap-'pen'd in the preceding reigns, occaſion'd by 'the *Hereſy*, and moſt of which I have hitherto 'deferr'd relating on purpoſe, becauſe they 'did not produce any commotions at that time, 'or very inconſiderable events in the kingdom, 'and they would have interrupted the *thread* of 'the hiſtory too much.'

There's as great a difference between an *Author* that tells us barely that ſuch and ſuch a thing was done or not done, and one that lays open the motives for undertaking or delaying it, as there is between a common *news-paper* and a well modell'd *Hiſtory*. The one has no manner of comelineſs in regard of the other, which, like a *Secretary* of *State*, brings you to the fountain head, diſplays the counſels of the *Cabinet*, and preſents his readers with the ſecret ſprings of action. We have a ſingular inſtance of this in the advancement of *Lewis* the *Stammerer*, who was a very weak prince, and yet came eaſily

to the throne, meerly for his want of merit. ‘ For as the only end of the *Lords*, was to maintain themſelves in their uſurpations, they ſaw ‘ very well, that under ſo weak a reign, they ‘ might ſtrengthen their power and that of their ‘ families, with much more eaſe, than if they ‘ ſhould chuſe a *Maſter* out of the other branches ‘ of the royal family, capable of forcing them ‘ to obedience, and keeping them within the ‘ bounds of their duty.’ Another inſtance we find, which ſhews our *Author*'s acquaintance with the beſt materials and their ſources, in the jealouſies that divided *Lewis* XI. and the Duke of *Burgundy*. ‘ The *King* would have gladly ‘ declar'd war againſt him, but he was ſtill in ‘ hopes that his own ſubjects would revenge ‘ him: which effect, the taxes he laid upon ‘ them, the levying and marching of forces, ‘ the interruption of commerce, evils owing to ‘ the reſtleſs diſpoſition of this prince, could ‘ hardly fail to produce in time. However, the ‘ *King* was prevail'd on by the lords of his ‘ council to declare war, becauſe they foreſaw ‘ that war would make the *King* more dependent of them, and they knew his temper ‘ and diſpoſition to be ſuch, that in peace he ‘ would think only of depreſſing and aggrieving ‘ them, of diſputing their rights and privileges, and of endeavouring to diminiſh their ‘ power in their Governments.’

Tully's advice in the caſe, is, firſt to expreſs the motives of the deſign propos'd, then the means which are to contribute to its taking effect, and laſtly the event. When the two firſt are perform'd with accuracy, the event opens naturally, and the ſeveral coincident cauſes appear ſo plain, that the reſult of wiſdom is diſtinguiſh'd

ſtinguiſh'd from the effects of chance or temerity (*m*). 'The war which broke out between 'Philip the *fair* and *Edward* I. of *England*, 'ſeems to have been the offspring of chance, 'tho' indeed both princes wanted an opportunity to fall out, otherwiſe the quarrel of 'two inſignificant ſailors, would not have become a concern of ſtate.' And the above named *great Man*, adds; becauſe the genius, actions, and characters of the principal actors, give great light, he would have an *Hiſtorian* deſcribe them under theſe ſeveral heads (*n*). When theſe circumſtances are clearly expreſs'd, like *Evidences* at a *Tryal*, they ſtamp *credibility* on what is ſaid; but then they ſhould neither be too highly exaggerated, nor ſo very minute and particular as to become trifling and impertinent: for, as what proves too much, proves nothing at all, ſo a thouſand frivolous circumſtances, no more command belief, than ſo many probabilities can come up to a demonſtration. 'Who does not at firſt ſight ſtart at 'the fable of three hundred and ſeventy five 'thouſand *Saracens*, ſlain at one battle between 'Tours and *Poitiers*, and rather believe that they 'fell by the pen of *Paulus Diaconus*, who is 'quoted for it, than by the ſwords of *Charles* 'Martel and *Eudes*?

(*m*) Rerum ratio vult quoniam in rebus magnis memoriaque dignis, conſilia primum, deinde acta, poſtea eventus expectantur; —— & in rebus geſtis, declarari non ſolum quid actum, aut dictum ſit, ſed etiam quomodo; & cum de eventu dicatur, ut cauſæ explicentur omnes, vel caſus, vel ſapientiæ, vel temeritatis. *Tull. de Orat.*

(*n*) Hominumque ipſorum non ſolum res geſtæ, ſed etiam qui fama ac nomine excellant, de cujuſque vita, atque natura. *Id. Ibid.*

Moſt

Moſt men are acted by their *affections*, and therefore where an *Author*'s materials do not furniſh him with the true ſpring of action, he muſt ſearch for it in the *Intereſt* or predominant *Paſſion* of the actor. Hence it is that our *Author* prefaces the reign of *Charles* IX. with this memorable remark, *viz.* 'The factions that divided the court, thought of nothing but ſtrengthning themſelves againſt the oppoſite intereſt; and the *Queen* mother, of re-uniting or ballancing their powers; and ſuppoſing this ſhould prove impracticable, ſhe deſign'd to put herſelf at the head of the moſt powerful party, in order to cruſh the weakeſt.

Some follow the dictates of their pride, avarice, revenge, hatred, vanity, or meer caprice, as 'tis plain the Abbot *Vala* did in a good meaſure, 'who being requir'd to acknowledge his rebellion, prov'd at laſt one of theſe ungovernable ſpirits and pretended ſaints, whoſe *pride* and *conceit* was too big for repentance; ready to ſuffer any thing, rather than confeſs he had been miſtaken.' Some are form'd by nature for enterprizing, with heads to contrive, and hands to execute; others, with as good heads, and a ſufficient ability, act with a continual warineſs peculiar to irreſolution.

Want of ſecrecy, negligence, and cool caution always produce feeble efforts; but boldneſs, common ſenſe, and bravery ſeldom fall ſhort of their aim. So, after the battle of *St. Quintin*, when *France* was brought in all appearance to the loweſt ebb, the good conduct of the Duke of *Guiſe* repair'd her ſhatter'd fortune, for after ſeveral counter-marches, he ſat down before *Calais*, and reduc'd it in eight days, in the depth of winter, which had coſt *Edward* III. eleven

months

months ſiege, after the fatal battle of *Creſſi*, loſt by *Philip de Valois*.

Whether *one*, or a complication of *cauſes* be the actor's motive, it is a certain ſatisfaction to the reader, to be let into his ſecrets, and ſee what his genius was capable or incapable of. But, an *Hiſtorian* ſhould endeavour not to miſtake his own *prepoſſeſſion* for the true *cauſe*, like thoſe who lay down *Hypotheſes* in any *Profeſſion*, and ſtrain to make all appearences wear their livery, and confirm the truth of what they advance.

It is hardly poſſible, I own, to lay *prejudice* and *intereſt* aſide, or to write without being biaſs'd by friendſhip, hatred, anger, or pity (*o*); but without it, it will be difficult for an *Author* to ſpeak truth, or to perſuade any one of his *Integrity* but a party-man. The *Father* takes care to avoid this imputation particularly, in his relation of the quarrel that happen'd between the *Greek* emperor, *Loe Iſaurius* the *Iconoclaſt*, and *Pope Gregory* III. who was the firſt *Pope* that directly and above-board concern'd himſelf with the intereſt of *Princes*. 'Leo had publiſh'd an *Edict*, commanding the 'church *Images* to be broken in pieces as *Idols*. 'This made the *Pontif* apply to *Charles Martel*, 'to call him his *Lord* and moſt excellent *Son*, '*Vice-roy*, *&c.* and finally by a formal *Embaſſy*, 'to offer to proclaim him *Conſul* of *Rome*, and 'renounce the authority of the emperor of *Con-*'*ſtantinople*, if he would declare war againſt 'Leo.' *Pere Daniel* ſuppoſes his *Holineſs's* mo-

(*o*) Haud facile animus verum providet, ubi officiunt odium, amicitia, ira, atque miſericordia. *Cæſar ap. Saluſt.* Ne qua ſuſpicio gratiæ ſit in ſcribendo? nequa ſimultatis? hæc ſcilicet fundamenta nota ſunt omnibus. *Tull. de Orat.*

tive

tive might be a miſtaken *Zeal*, but does not pretend to juſtify his transferring his *allegiance*, or to ſtifle the firſt effort of an uſurp'd *Supremacy* over chriſtian princes. But we cannot ſay ſo much for him, in his compariſon of *Montluc* and the baron *des Adrets*. The firſt was a *Catholick*, and the other an *Hugonot*. 'That in which theſe two officers were moſt 'alike, *ſays he*, was the hatred which one of 'them bore to the *Catholicks*, and the other to 'the *Hugonots*, but, with this difference, that 'tho' neither of them would give quarter; '*Montluc*'s ſeverity was not attended with ſuch 'brutal and treacherous actions, as was the 'Baron *des Adrets*.'

Some writers tincture the character of the *Hero* with their own ſentiments, as *Painters* are ſaid to draw their miſtreſſes, when a *Venus* or a *Madona* is the ſubject. With theſe ſentiments, the *Hiſtorians* contemporary with *St. Lewis*, from whom *Pere Daniel* takes his hints, ſeem to have cook'd up his life, to make him as great a *King* as they have made him a *Saint*, and indeed one of the greateſt and moſt extraordinary men that ever liv'd. But, as often as this happens to be the caſe, 'tis odds but the brave and glittering ſide of the object is preſented to the reader, and the *great Man* conducts himſelf by falſe politicks, becauſe he is taught to miſtake falſe honour for true, immoderate ambition for what is laudable, and the raſh ſide of the queſtion for the ſafe one.

We muſt indeed agree with our *Author* in the life of *Philip Auguſtus*, that ſometimes particular circumſtances and junctures, contribute no leſs to the making of *Hero's*, than their virtues themſelves. Nor can it be deny'd, but great

great men have great *foibles*, and that the vices of complection often get the better of reaſon and judgment. 'The king of *Navarre*, afterwards *Henry* IV, had like to have fallen into 'the Duke of *Mayenne*'s hands, only for the 'ſake of paying a viſit *en paſſant* to the Counteſs of *Guiche:* for how hard preſs'd ſoever he 'was by the enemy, he could not diſpence with 'himſelf from making love.'

The *Character*, ſhould be the picture of the *Genius* of the perſon you write of, ſo drawn as to reſemble him only. There are indeed ſome tempers as well as faces that have a great deal of likeneſs, but there is ſtill ſome particular feature, or ſome particular turn of thought that conſtitutes the difference, which may be call'd a *Characteriſtick*. *Pere Daniel* has interwoven the character of *Henry* I. of *England* with that of *Lewis* VI. ſo artfully as to ſet off one another, without diſcovering the defects of either in any great meaſure. 'If *Lewis*, *ſays he*, had join'd 'a little more policy, more knowledge of 'his true intereſt, or more eagerneſs in advancing it, to abundance of good qualities '(which had been reckon'd up before) he 'would have been inferior in nothing to *Henry*, 'who was a *Prince* the moſt eſteem'd in his 'time, and who excell'd *him* in nothing but 'that art, without which a *Prince* may be a 'good *King*, but will never paſs for a *great* '*Man*.' In another part of his hiſtory, we may ſay the *Father* gives us the *Characteriſtick*, or diſcriminating feature of *Henry* III. when that *Prince* had determined to have the Duke of *Guiſe* aſſaſſinated for coming to *Paris* without his leave, but was diverted from it for a time, tho' not fully perſuaded; 'for it was the diſ-

'poſition

'position of this *Prince*, to pass easily from a 'settled design to irresolution, and from that 'to the contrary.'

Some venture to draw the *character* at length, and others leave the reader to collect or deduce it from *facts*; the first may succeed where the *writer* has a personal acquaintance, but the latter will commonly prove the safest, where there is none.

There are some parts of an *historical narration* so naturally cold, as to stand in need of *figures* to enliven and support them; and others are so warm, such as, accounts of sieges, and battles, as not only to justify, but demand the use of them. It is perhaps for this reason that so many *figurative* expressions are us'd in the description of the battle of *Pavia*, where the *French* army was routed, and the *King* taken prisoner; 'who sustained the charge with a 'great deal of resolution, and kill'd *Ferdinand* '*Castriot* with his own hand: who plac'd all 'his hopes in his own valour, and that of a 'few *Gentlemen* who made their way sword in 'hand thro' the enemy, to come to his assist-'ance; who fell at last full of wounds, but 'sold their lives at a very dear rate. Now, 'the *King* has his horse kill'd under him, re-'ceives a wound in the leg, defends himself 'on foot almost alone, in the midst of an heap 'of dead bodies: kills seven men with his own 'hand, five before he was thrown from his 'horse, and two after he rose: refuses quarter, 'chooshing rather to die fighting, than expose 'himself to the brutality of the soldiers: but at 'last, quite spent with the efforts he had made, 'and the blood he had lost, surrenders himself 'to the vice-roy of *Naples*.' And when he

gives

gives an account of the *Count* of *Artois*, whoſe raſhneſs ruin'd the *Chriſtian* army in *Egypt*, he tells us, 'that he was beſieg'd in a houſe for 'ſeveral hours; but at laſt, born down with 'numbers, his ſtrength quite ſpent, and his 'body all over wounds, he expir'd upon an 'heap of Infidels, whom he had kill'd with his 'own hand.'

For the ſame reaſon, narration may be properly enough interſpers'd with deſcriptions of the *paſſions*, which, when artificially interwoven, turn the reader into a party concern'd, and make him become an advocate of a judge. He who arrives at this point of intereſting the reader, triumphs over the *Drama* manifeſtly, which affects us by joining the force of action and elocution.

Having already exceeded the bounds I propos'd to myſelf; before I conclude, I ſhall only aſk leave to mention, that *Mezeray*, another celebrated *French Hiſtorian*, has been accus'd of not being punctual and exact enough; to which he made no other reply, if we may believe *Pere le Long*, than that, few readers would take the pains to trace him to the fountain head, either to refute or juſtify what he advanc'd. *Pere Daniel* is ſo far from profeſſing *Mezeray*'s indifference, that tho' he diſagrees from writers of good authority, he glories in it, and invites his readers to examine whether he is in the right or no.

FINIS.

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